/113 cont./

198 Christian for at least 300 years, and that they are today in a truly
123 sad state of intellectual inferiority. The individuals with whom I
124 was in close contact always gave me the impression that they had communicated all that they knew on the points I wished to know. It was generally very little. I do not think that I was a victim of their reserve or dissembling, for my informants never nourished hostile feelings with regard to me, to all appearances at least. I am also convinced that they made an effort to satisfy me. They were encouraged to do so by self-interest, because I always tried to recompense them for each piece of information generously.

178 Here as in many other places the skeleton of the old religion has
371 been maintained practically intact, but the representations /sic/ of which this ensemble of rites were the expression have disappeared forever. The myths that I have been able to collect are themselves only vague reminiscences of more complex traditions. My documents have, nonetheless, a certain interest in that they give us in a complete form a description of a great number of festivals and characteristic rites of the popular religion in the Inca empire which up to now were only fragmentarily known. They allow us to establish the existence of certain cults, such as those of mal'ku animals or plants about which we had only incomplete indications.

121
174
[126]

404 The phonetic transcription of native sounds used in the course of this article is the same as that which Dr. Paul Rivet uses in the article cited above (note 1, p. 1); c̄ corresponds to the Spanish "ch," ȳ to the French "ch," j̄ is an affricate that would be transcribed in French by "dj"; x is the Spanish "j," and l' is the "ll" of the same language. The combined sign b̄ᵉ is a mid-occlusive, the cutting off of which produces a sound close to Spanish "j." A guttural occlusion is indicated by hard breathing. The vowel e is a very open e close to a closed a.

/162 cont./

of which I was still able to obtain (Fig. 2, K /see p. 150/). Today they use long-handled hoes (astuna, takina) of European make. The seeds are sown from meter to meter in holes they make with this instrument. The natives do not seem to show any attention to sowing in a straight line, and the holes when seen from a certain height give the appearance of wavy and capricious lines.

These fields are not irrigated but could obviously be without much work, given the uniformity of the plain. Some Cipaya with an enterprising spirit have recognized the possibility of this improvement, and this question is at present the object of discussion among the groups of land cultivators. The quinua which grows in these fields is stunted and bears few seeds. The harvest is frequently of no account as a consequence of excessive droughts or frosts. I noticed some faint attempts at cultivating barley (1) in the shelter of several broken down enclosures.

1. The Cipaya while traveling dig up a tubercule (uña) which they say is the root of the tola, and they appear to be very fond of it. As for me I am concerned I found it tasted sour and insipid. Another wild tubercule (sawkapira) was pointed out to me as being edible also.

Trade. The Cipaya make cheeses, which constitute their chief industry and the source of their wealth, out of sheep's milk. They trade it for everything they need to live and which nature denies them: maize, quinua, barley, broad beans, potatoes, dried fish, coca, and alcohol. These products are brought to them by Aymara traders or mestizos, who generally come from the region of the Salinas, from Garci Mendoza. The Cipaya economy hence rests in large part on trade. They themselves sometimes go to the

2556nace--192 E-6 (1870-1891) 1935, 1936 SF24 thr SF24
Carnegie
Cayapa
Ayankel SES

/194 cont./

the part where the sun appears, without any house having double rooms. The houses of the caciques and inns were long and square and the wood was brought from the Tungus." /Cited in Spanish./

On some naive pictures in the book by Hurtado Porra de Ayala, published by Morrell, Dress and ornament, p. 188, Fig. 86, one notices, in the background, some huts which a marginal note says is to be "Inca dependencies /Cited in Spanish/." They seem to have a circular form and a domed roof.

The ayllus of the Cayapa explain the formation of the small social units also called ayllus, which are composed of several /195/ families which together constitute the ayllu, or local clan of the present. We have no equivalent for this subdivision within the clan for the Inca period.

Canals. The system of canals laid out by the Cayapa to irrigate their wretched grazing lands offers nothing special in a geographical area where man has lived for centuries practically solely thanks to his irrigation works.

Weapons. The sling and bola are two weapons employed not only in the ancient Inca empire, but practically in all of western South America. The sling also became a decoration, often sumptuous, which was worn like a headband around the forehead.

Bolas, or boleadoras, in the Chullpas, I found bolas veiled around the wrist of some mummies, two of which are reproduced here (Fig. 4, D-E /see p. 117/).

Cayapa--Ethnology E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 NF26 Lin NF26

Cayapa-
Ethnology

/201 cont./

Erland Nordenskiöld, "Origin of the Indian Civilizations in South America," Comparative Ethnographical Studies, 9., Göteborg, 1931.

at Cuaca Department /204/ still preserve several specimens which have been passed from father to son since the Inca period. Like the Cayapa the Quichua surround these pieces with superstitious respect and only use them to make libations of chicha on the occasion of some solemn festival. They believe that chicha drunk from one of these mugs has the virtue of making one drunk more quickly than that which is contained in another vessel (7).

1. Steward, p. 1.

Conclusions

The review we have just made of all the Cayapa culture traits leads us to the following conclusions: there is no object in the present-day industry of these Indians which could be considered as belonging to them alone or as representing a survival of their former original culture. All their material goods are those which we know from the modern or ancient Aymara, or in a general way from the Indians of the Andean altiplano. In their way of life, that of sedentary shepherds, the Cayapa do not differ from the primitive populations of "les régions froides /the cold regions/," whom the Spanish chroniclers sometimes distinguish from the "sierras /highlands/." The interest in the Cayapa culture does not lie then in the originality of their material culture but rather in the fact that their relative isolation has permitted them to keep many archaic and crude techniques which have disappeared elsewhere. They constitute a cluster as they have managed to resist by life, and not as relict survivors of an isolated ethnic group.

Smithsonian--I D.F-5 (1918-1946) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

/146/

/Cf. I have p. 145. /

The last group of Uru Indians living in the village of Iru-ito, or Angosto, on the banks of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from Lake Titicaca, has almost entirely disappeared in the course of the last years.

A long period of drought between 1940 and 1945 has lowered the level of Lake Titicaca by more than three meters; at many points the water has receded several hundred meters.

At the time of my first trip in 1938, the village of Iru-ito had about 100 inhabitants; the Desaguadero went through vast swamps dotted with numerous ponds and lagoons with a great abundance of totora reeds /tortoras/. In 1941 a plain of coarse sand had replaced the swamps and fields of reeds; the Desaguadero was reduced to a narrow, muddy ditch.

Because of this the Uru have lost practically all their means of existence. The swamps covered with reeds, the totora reeds, furnished them with the Scirpus necessary to make their fishing boats and to cover their houses and served as shelter for numerous aquatic fauna: fish, suches (Trichomycterus dispar and rivulatus), bogs, bispe, carache (various Orestias), and birds sought by the Indians for their meat and eggs. Their entire economy, based partly on hunting and fishing and partly on the sale of totora fishing boats and mats to the neighboring Indians, has thus been destroyed.

Many of the Uru are dead. Others, the young ones, have dispersed, mingling with the neighboring Aymara groups; some have joined the Lake Titicaca fishers. The old ones, more attached to their customs and their /146/ traditions and incapable of adapting themselves to new conditions of existence, have remained in the dead village.

In 1944 most of the houses had been abandoned; the totora reeds could not be replaced for lack of reeds, and many had given way. Only 35 people remained in the village; several women were of Aymara origin, and the few children were in part Uru-Aymara half-breeds.

2:Velard--7 D.E-S (1938-1944) 1949 9F24 Uro 9F24

/170/

## 1. The Misery of the Uro
## (Account by Manuel Inka)

(See p. 151 /in the foreign text/)

/Note. As a result of the difficulty of obtaining the typographical sign for the exact transcription of the Uro words included in the remarks, we have been obliged to transcribe a certain number of words in an approximate fashion and more or less successfully. It will therefore not be surprising that there are differences of transcription between the texts, which have been reproduced by a photographic process, and the remarks. It goes without saying that only the transcriptions of the texts is exact./

### Free Translation

1. We shall never be able to go from here; we all are too much accustomed to be here since always. 2. But our fields will give us very little. 3. This year is too dry and the potatoes are not growing. 4. The frosts have burned everything. 5. That is why we are leaving. 6. Now what shall we do? 7. In the swamp which is drying up there are no more suriz (kind of fish). 8. There are no more reeds and there are no more birds' eggs. 9. All the eggs have departed into the great lake of Guaqui. 10. The fish have left for Guaqui. 11. How will we eat now? 12. If it rains enough this year we shall live. 13. We shall all return to our village. 14. If it does not rain (enough) we shall die. 15. We eat the little potatoes which we cultivate for the people of another race (the Aymara). 16. We earn them by cultivating for them. 17. There are few fish and we have only caught one. 18. We shall sell it. 19. Thou hast seen how small it is. 20. It is necessary to go far to fish. 21. We are accustomed to going home at night. 22. We shall return home to sell (our catch).

/170 cont./

23. We are going to sell them to the people of the other race, at three for one real.

/171/ Remarks

This account, dictated by an old Uru about 80 years old, Manuel Inka, is a commentary on the wide dispersal of the Uru, undoubtedly permanent, after a series of years of drought, 1941 to 1945. In 1944 there were only a few old people in their old village of Iru-Itu. The drought had destroyed the vast swamps of the Desaguadero and their reed fields, the source of all the activity of these Indians, bringing about the disappearance of the conditions which had made it possible for them to maintain their ethnic individuality in the midst of the Aymara population. These complaints express the bitterness of the old Uru, fishers and gatherers, obliged, in order not to starve to death, to change their economy, working in the fields of their Aymara neighbors. The young Uru have dispersed, some having mingled with the Aymara or Americanized fishers of Lake Titicaca, others having established themselves in Aymara villages or communities.

wáki, Bolivian village of Guaqui, on the small lake. Iru'ño, literally, "different," the people of another race, the Aymara. Note the particle ña intercalated between the root and the ending of the verb: kéya -ñiñay, tánkña-ñay, ma-náña -ñay, in order to reinforce the idea expressed by the verb and to indicate a customary action. The particle ni intercalated between the root of the verb and the ending ñay indicates the future. The verb náña-ñay means "to engage in business," "to sell" as well as "to buy," or "to earn money." tumíni, a tomin (old Spanish coin): a word unknown to the present Lake Aymaras but still used by some natives of the Puno region.

Note three other Hispanicisms: 1. kuntintu, "curtain"; 2. ni-ñay, ene or ene, "that"; 17. ni-ún, "the alone," from the Spanish uno, "one."

/[89 cont./

expressions outside of their daily life -- a trip to Chile or life in the barracks.

Sterling Heron underlines the different characters of these two groups that these were dictated by themselves. The Chipaya are broken, very much affected by the influence of their Aymara and Kolla neighbors, and even by the Creole culture. The Uru, fisher-gatherers, have kept almost up to their extinction, their way of life and relative isolation, which is reflected in their low skilled language.

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9:La Barre E-9 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24



Uru, who, at best, are an inhospitable, apathetic, and hare-lipped group which has been enslaved and harassed throughout its history.

The culture of the Uru is now largely like that of the Aymara, with whom they have recently extensively intermarried, but it preserves several interesting archaic features of altiplano culture.

## CULTURE

### SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

**Fishing**—The Uru depend primarily on fishing (pl. 113, top), secondarily on hunting, in the waters and totora reed swamps of Lake Titicaca and the Río Desaguadero. The dry land they own is so restricted that they have little agriculture, although they have some livestock.

Fishing by moonlight is much favored. They frequently use a V-shaped weir made of reed bundles thrust into the mud of the swamp bottom, with a removable net at the opening of the V; the fish are driven into the converging leaves by agitating the water with a bundle of reeds tied to a pole. The Uru also use three- and eight-pointed spears, but lack the bow and arrow. They have several kinds of nets. Large dip nets attached to a frame are handled by one fisherman; the netting is placed over a conical frame, the partially closed base of which is 10 ft. (3 m.) in diameter. Another framed net is rectangular, a scoop net with a pole handle. Bottom and dragnets also exist; these are weighted with perforated stones at the bottom, and require a number of persons to drag them behind several balsas. Small fish, salted and roasted, are stored and eaten dry on journeys. Larger varieties are salted, cooked, boned, and shredded and then stored in a dry, smoky fire; thus smoke-dried, they are preserved for periods of scarcity.

**Hunting**—Hunting is next in importance to fishing. The river marshes abound in water fowl, ducks, geese, loons, herons, various diving birds, and gulls, of which only the last is not eaten, because of its rank oily flesh. A kind of red duck (*pato-colorado*) is most frequently hunted. Hunting methods are varied. The Uru are skilful with slings, which are woven and braided of variegated llama and sheep wool. They also use bolas, which have two large wooden knobs for balls and a small, grooved, wood stone for a handgrip. One use of dogs has been reported. Early in the morning a man conceals himself in a bunch of reeds, slowly approaches the birds which are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, quickly kills them by biting the head or twisting the neck. In communal hunts, nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, are set in slightly curved lines on reed supports. Hunters in balsas make a noisy drive and frighten the birds into the closest invisible nets and dispatch them with clubs. The Uru also eat the eggs of aquatic birds, and sometimes strips of their flesh to make a kind of charqui.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24



edge of the pontoons. The whole makes a sea-sled type of hull, which will not easily overturn even in the fierce storms of Lake Titicaca.

The balsa is poled along with a stubby trident, the wood for which comes from the yungas east of the Cordillera Real. In the open lake, a trapezoidal reed sail is rigged on two poles stuck deeply into the pontoons and forming an inverted V. The balsa is unable to tack in the wind, however, for it lacks a centerboard. Balsas are dragged onto the land from time to time lest they become waterlogged and rot. Though they may be bought for 10 to 16 Bolivian dollars (bolivianos), they represent much labor.

## MANUFACTURES

*Uru* material culture is simple. Owing to the lack of trees, the giant totora reed (*Scirpus totora*) is of extraordinary importance, providing material for balsa-sails, roof mats (pl. 117, *top, left*), floor and sitting mats, rafters, doors, balsas, sails, and even food for animals and people. Metallurgy is unknown. Pottery making has been abandoned in recent times.

**Basketry.**—Crudely coiled baskets and twined totora reed baskets are made.

**Textiles.**—The *Uru* make twine bird nets, mats of various types, sails, grass rope, and simple baskets (both coiled and twined). Women spin llama wool as incessantly as the men make grass rope, using a wooden spindle. They weave the yarn into cloth on a simple bar loom staked taut on the ground (pl. 116, *top*), rolling up the finished cloth on the end bar. When the end of the warp is approached, they weave from the other end, and finally fill in the last intermediate strip with a needle. Knitting is not pre-Columbian here, but *Uru* women are very skilful in knitting *Aymara*-type caps (gorros), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. Men's slings-shots are very beautifully braided of wool with varicolored diamond designs like the markings on snakes. The *Uru* also make thongs of twisted rawhide still retaining the fur, and heavy braided woolen ropes for lashing loads on burden animals.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather cloth described by David Forbes (1870). The down of lake birds was spun into thread, and then knit into caps and children's socks and gloves. Only a few specimens of these exist in museums.

**Weapons.**—To make bolas, the *Uru* buy cotton thread from traders and wind this tightly around a cord Y to make a durable bird-hunting weapon. A straw-cored bola perdida, similar to that of Patagonia, is also used.

**Metals.**—The *Uru* know no metallurgy, although the *Aymara* of Jesús de Machaca, scarcely a day's journey away, are famous for their

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24



metal casting. Some of the pins (tupus) which women use to fasten their clothing at the shoulder, are probably generations old, perhaps having been taken from chullpa graves. All other metal objects are obtained by trade.

**Pottery.**—Although not now made at Ancoaqui, pottery was formerly produced in simple styles: a plain reddish, round-bodied olla with a narrow neck and handle, and a large, crude hemispherical bowl with a bent-out lip and two loop handles.

**Stonework.**—Metates, mullers, and hammers made of a round stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, the small hand stones of bolas, and fish-net sinkers are the only objects made of stone.

**Woodworking.**—Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, balsa poles, spear handles, hooks for tightening balsa lashings, and a few other articles compose the list of wooden objects. Wood is a valuable substance in this treeless region, procurable only by trade or travel to the yungas.

**Musical instruments.**—All *Uru* musical instruments are duplicates of those of the *Aymara:* the open-ended flutes (palawatu, kena, pusipia, and kenakena), flageolets (kena mari-macho, koiko, pinkilu, and tarka), double panpipes, i.e., in two graduated rows (siku, siku-choklo), and the drum. No stringed instruments are present except the armadillo-carapace ukelele or charanga.

### ECONOMICS

The only *Uru* articles of commerce are dried and salted fish, balsas, and the large totora reed mats which they make for Bolivian cholo huts. They exchange these for frozen and dried potatoes (chuñu), coca, thread to make nets, quinoa, wooden poles, metal objects, and other indispensable goods like medicines and dyes.

The sexual division of labor is simple: men fish, hunt, make and repair nets, and manufacture balsas, mats, musical instruments, and their own tools; women spin and weave llama wool, cook, and make baskets and, formerly, pottery. Women trade all goods except balsas.

### SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Not much remains of pre-Columbian *Uru* social structure, for a scattered and diminishing population has not been able to preserve it functioning. The *Uru* are grouped into ayllus, named Titicana, Konko, Kama, and Kuipa, and their territory is physically divided into nonexogamous moieties: ti achai (corresponding to *Inca* anan-saya), and xanacha (*Inca* mana-saya). The kinship system is fragmentary, and highly descriptive in its present, perhaps, degenerate form. It is apparently a bilateral system which does not distinguish between paternal and maternal uncle, or aunt, or grandparent. Like

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya



not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

### SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

### RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

*Chipaya* religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (maλku) with little individuality (Chunkirini-maλku, Kemperani-maλku, Estewan-maλku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-maλku). The samiri are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-maλku), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the maλkus and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

## BOLIVIA

### VISIT TO THE CHIPAYAS

Professors Jorge Ruiz and Augusto Roca have recently been living among the Chipayas of the village of Santa Ana, a little-known group of the Sabaya Canton of the Province of Carangas in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. We quote them as follows:

"The Chipayas were corraled by the Aymara-Kolla into the lonely salt pits in the Southwestern part of the Plateau region. In spite of that fact they have retained a certain vigor and are far from being extinguished. Those who remain may be calculated at about a thousand individuals, who occupy an extension of territory very limited in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Like their brothers, the Uros, it appears that originally their way of life was essentially lake-dwelling, but when they were thrown into a region of deserts and salt marshes, which dried up with the passage of the geological epochs, they were converted into a pastoral and agricultural people who adjusted their way of life to an amazing degree to the adverse conditions of the territory in which they were obliged to live.

The few travelers who have been fortunate enough to arrive at the village of Santa Ana de Chipaya would agree that the impression it causes is that of a living *chullperia*.[1] The village is divided into two sections called *sayas* with circular houses scattered about in disorderly fashion, all doors facing the east. The only observable foreign element is a small church with a tower separate from the principal nave, which presents the same architectonic form as the tower of the church of Sabaya.

The first impression one receives of the inhabitants is that of the purity of their dress, which does not present any influence foreign to themselves; this is especially true among the women who for the most part wear their characteristic hair style composed of many small braids, but also of the men with the classic garment of the *ira*, a sleeveless shirt which reaches to the waist woven of wool in a striped design. This impression supposes little mixture with their Aymara neighbors, although

[1] *Chullpa*: Pre-Inca funereal monument of Peru and Bolivia.

[English text continues on p. 217]

evidently there has been mingling with the Killas since types of features characteristic of that group are to be found.

Aside from their agricultural and pastoral activities, the most outstanding feature of this village is its religion, which, although it does not basically differ much from the Aymara believes and rites, has been preserverd in a purer form. Their idolatry is characterized principally

Group of Chipaya Indians.—*Photo Summer Institute of Linguistics in Bolivia.*

by the veneration and deification of geographic accidents such as mountains, rivers, stones, etc. And even the tower of the church appears to have impressed them for in the village they call it *Mallku Mayor*. Likewise, scattered about the village and its surroundings we find small towers of temples also called *Mallkus*, which represent without distinction demons and saints of the church.

Having had the privilege of living for almost a month among the Chipayas, we believe we are obliged to make a few recommendations to the government agencies concerned in view of the existing situation

[English text continues on p. 219]

It would still be A.D. 1600 in a remote section of Oruro Department of Bolivia today. Here in the retreat of the Chipaya Indians, the living people who can give us an idea of rural life in a distant corner of the great Inca Empire. The few hundred individuals of Santa Ana de Chipaya are the remainders of a once numerous people whose territory extended to the northern shores of Lake Titicaca. Their language, Uru-Chipaya, was called "one of the three main languages of the kingdom" by the seventeenth-century chroniclers of Peru, which included what is now Bolivia. Over the centuries the more powerful Quechuas and Aymaras have seized their lands, leaving them back into a region where life is particularly difficult. But they have made remarkable use of their harsh, ungenerous environment. In their isolation, they have retained their pre-Columbian customs more completely than any other Andean group.

And they are isolated. The modern world did not even know of their existence until it was reported by the famous Peruvianist Max Uhle toward the end of the nine-

[A 19-C]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24



*Nesacava*, 64 km. from Lake Titicaca and 23 km. from Ahuallamaya, a little n. of 17° s. lat.; *Simiñaque*, an islet in the Peruvian Desaguadero, 6 km. from the village of the same name (nearly all the natives here, however, spoke Aymará); and *Sojapata*, 5 km. from the village of Desaguadero, in Peruvian territory (this is spoken of as "the habitual residence of the Urus"; it is an *estancia* where some cattle are bred). Polo adds further that "In 1873 there existed the Uro *haciendas* of *Chearaque*, *Taguan*, *Tococatani*, *Chiconi-uma*, *Machacamarca*, *Urcuni-uma*, *Huallaqueri*, *Calayamponi*, and *Tocavi* [all these names are etymologizable in Aymará, save perhaps *Taguan* (W.LaB.)]; and the inhabitants of the Peruvian district of the Desaguadero numbered 937 (males 448, females 489), of whom 809 were Indians." This figure of course includes Aymára, but it is wholly possible that the Uru may have numbered between one and two hundred even this late.[5]

In March 1938[6] the population of Ancoaqui (*huuq'o-huq'e*, Aymará "white people"), a village of the Uru in the midst of an Aymára *communidad* of the same name, was thirty families (in the taxable sense), according to the native who was the *ilacate* (head of the *communidad*,? from "alcalde") for the previous year. This figure probably includes most Uru males past puberty, both in the village and in the surrounding area, and I am inclined to agree with Métraux' estimate of less than a hundred Uru individuals at Ancoaqui and the entire region as well in 1931.[6]

This Aymára *communidad* of Ancoaqui, in the midst of which the Uru town of the same name is located, is one of the largest in the western part of the Provincia of Ingavi. It is about twenty kilometers long, north and south, and about fifteen kilometers wide. In the middle of this, scarcely a foothold on the solid land, the Uru possess a small holding of the village of Ancoaqui and the environs, scarcely amounting in all to a plot with a circumference of a thousand meters.

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[5] José Toribio Polo, *Indios-Uros del Peru y Bolivia* (Boletin de la Sociedad Geografico de Lima, 1901, 10: 445–482), p. 446. D. M. Jimenez de la Espada (in Neveu-Lemaire, *Les lagos de los Altiplanos de la America del Sud*, *La Paz*, 1909, p. lviii) says the Uru were anciently inhabitants of the "Lake of *Chuchito*." I have been unable to locate this name on available maps; *Chucuito*, however, was an ancient name for Lake Titicaca, hence I believe this lake is meant.

[6] As Sterling Fellow of Yale University I visited the village for some days, incidental to my main study of Amyára ethnography.

[5] Métraux, *op. cit.*, p. 75. The legal term "communidad" here signifies the presence of the ancient Aymára politico-socio-economic organisation of the *ayllu* (which still obtains in the remoter parts of the *altiplano*). The *ayllu* system of land-holding was abolished officially by law in 1874, but not in actuality. "Communidad"—as opposed to the term "finca" (= "estancia," "hacienda") where formerly free natives are now serfs to white owners who have usurped their *ayllu* lands—also implies that the native culture is more intact in places so-named.

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193 gender, know both prefixes and suffixes (but predominantly the latter), and also, in all probability have some forms of incorporation. But more material (texts, etc.) is needed to complete a satisfactory grammatical sketch. Reduplication appears to be not infrequent.

192 [191] All the Uru of Ancoaqui speak Aymará well, though few of them know Spanish. Aymará influence in vocabulary has been pointed out by Métraux.[10] Spanish influence is second in importance in borrowings, and Quechua a poor third: according to my calculations, in Métraux' vocabulary and textual examples identifiable as non-Uran, of 630 total listings of words, 63 or 10% are Aymará, 20 or 3% are Spanish in origin, and only 8 or 1.3% are Quechuan. Polo (page 479) notes four Aymará, perhaps three Quechua, and fourteen Spanish loan-words in Uru.

191 199 *Tribal Relations.* In any case, long contact with the Aymára is to be argued from the many Aymarisms in Uru culture, though of course nearly all of these are common *altiplano* possessions: the chewing of coca, the use of Aymára-like *gorros* or knitted llama-wool "toboggan-" caps for males, the use of *tabia* and *t'ola* as fuel (as with all *altiplano* dwellers, including the whites, although there are unexploited coal beds south of Lake Titicaca), use of the *pinkillu*-flute and other musical instruments, the Aymára-like brush-comb and many other articles of material culture, washing the hair in urine, the Aymára modification of colonial Spanish male clothing, the belief in and interpretation of dreams, some family names (e.g. Quispi, Inta), color-names, and vocabulary in general. Save in religion and other aspects of non-material culture, the Uru, like the Chipaya, is little different from general Aymára-Quechua *altiplano* culture, though because of relative isolation the Uru may have preserved elements of this Incasica culture from pre-Spanish times somewhat better than some of these original groups themselves.

143 [140] [198] *Physical Anthropology.* Uru males outnumber the females, and for some time they have been taking wives from among the Aymára. In so long a period of contact with their neighbors of so numerically small a group, much mixture of blood is inevitable; yet the preservation of their language is an earnest of a certain amount of social and biological isolation. Only four [55] [62] family names were encountered at Ancoaqui: Inta, Šalina, Bila and Qispi (for taxation purposes family names are used with Spanish given names), hence inbreeding may have intensified racial features otherwise diluted by 142 the occasional intermarriages with the Aymára. The Uru, particularly the younger individuals, have pleasant almond-shaped eyes, with a distinct

[10] Métraux (JSAP 27), pp. 90–110.

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wherein the *balsa* have tightly wound cotton thread (bought from Aymára traders) around the cords (see Posnansky, Fig. 90). As has been pointed out, the word for "clothes" in general is very much like the word for "skin," suggesting a pretextile substance for this purpose in earlier times. No information was obtained on any tanning process, however. Leather sandals, *fota* (an Aymará word), are not universally used.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather-cloth. David Forbes described this in 1870 for the Aymára, but my repeated inability to check it for this group leads me to believe that the art was really Uru. This art was the spinning of the down of lake birds into a thread, which was then knit into *gorros*. The Berlin Museum has a specimen of these. Dr Krickeberg, who studied it, believed the idea of making thread from bird-down is ancient but that the knitting is European in origin.[a]

The Uru know no metallurgy of any kind, though the Aymára of Jesus de Machaca, a day's journey overland to the east are famous for their metal casting. Some of the "topos" (Uru *toshala* [cf. the term for penis, *xiai* ("eggs") *shale*]) used by the women to pin their clothing at the shoulder are probably generations old, and some may have been recovered from the ancient *Tulpa* graves.

Pottery is no longer made at Ancoaqui, though there is plenty of evidence, archaeological and otherwise, that this was not always the case. Oyilvie, in point of fact, noted a water jar "made of clay dug from a bank near by," so that the non-practice of pottery-making is possibly a recent thing—evidence, like the decline of weaving and basket-making, of the final decadence of Uru culture. Plain reddish round-bodied *ollas* with a narrow neck and a small handle at the top, and crudely made but large hemispherical bowls (up to 18" across the top) with a bent-out lip and two small loops as handles were, however, noted; these may have been made at Ancoaqui, as they are much cruder even than modern Aymára ceramics of the region.

Flat grinding-stones with long mullers, together with hammers (*hupoka*) for all purposes (a roundish stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, illustrated in Posnansky's Figure 81) are the only objects made of stone, except the handle end of the *bola*, and the sinkers for fish-nets.

Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, *balsa*-poles, spear-handles, the wooden *balsa*-making hook (*hoxlu* or *'haxl*), and a few other small articles are the only objects made of wood, which is very valuable and extremely

[a] Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 262, says this down yarn was knit into children's socks and gloves. Cf. Métraux (JSAP 27, pp. 86-87; 28, pp. 196) and Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

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female baby, little girl = *ol-tukus-wawa*, *kus wawa*, *tukus-wawa* &c.; young girl = *pas-pak-ul*, young woman = *ya*.

*Marriage.* Marriage nowadays is solemnized with the rites of the Bolivian Catholic Church, if at all. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married standing in the water of the Lake back to back. Marriage is patrilocal, if this term has any meaning for a group like the Uru. More male than female children are born to the Uru, which is curiously the case with other ichthyophagous groups as well. Uru men commonly take Aymara women to wife, which accounts for the great acculturation in the direction of this tribe nowadays. A kind of *Amphipod* (*Hyalella pallida*), transparent, and two to ten millimeters long, found at the roots of *totora* plants, is considered to be an aphrodisiac when toasted, according to Posnansky.

*Political Organization.* If the Uru at any time in the past ever had a tribal chieftain of any kind, the institution has long since disappeared. At present the organization of the group politically is the same as the compromise between ancient Aymara and colonial Spanish officials which is in effect elsewhere in the *altiplano*. The village "mayor" (Aymará *kilacata*, commonly called *alcalde* by the whites—from the Spanish *alcalde*?) is called in Uru *lupuli ne sewatsilibi* ("wearer of the necklace," from his insignium of office, a necklace). This official is "elected" yearly. The regional ranking official or *corregidor* at Jesus de Machaca is called *lenk lupuli* ("big lupuli"). Squabbles with Aymara neighbors are led by the *kilacata*. Anciently, it is said, Uru women accompanied the men into battle.

*Dances and Ceremonies.* Bertonio[29] lists several ancient Uru dances of the 16th century which have since disappeared: the *kuchka* (*kulla*) or *ni a quichkka* (*kirkil'a*), and the *chiry-chiry*, in which "chuspas" (bags) or "quelquepos" are held in the hand. The chief Uru "fiesta" of today is that of the vernal equinox, which the Spanish missionaries moved from the 23rd to the 14th of September that the date might coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date they play *sikus*, sing and dance the "mimula," and practice the ancient pagan rite of the *wilancha* (<*wila*, Aymará "blood"?). The *pusip'ia* and *pona* flutes are played at the dance of *Tourida* on the date of Espiritu; the costumes for this dance are a little white apron or "tabanilla," a "poyo" or plumed hat, the "panina" or "panonilla" (a collar of feathers), and the *kawa* or tunic, white for men and brown or black for women. The "mimula" and "tourida" are said to be like dances of the Chiriguano.

[29] Bertonio, *Vocabulario* 2, pp. 94 and 161. Other information, Posnansky *op. cit.*, p. 353.